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ABSTRACT

This research brief examines employment and hiring among full-time minority college faculty over the 10-year period (1981-1991) using data from the biannual faculty surveys of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It compares the number of new full-time faculty hires to the actual employment gains in tenure-track and non-tenure track positions. Finally it discusses some major factors in recruiting and retaining minority faculty and suggests ways to increase the number and retention of minority faculty. Highlights include the following: (1) between 1981 and 1991 the number of full-time minority faculty grew from approximately 43,000 to 64,000, a 49 percent increase compared to the overall increase of 11 percent; (2) minority representation among all full-time faculty grew from 9 percent to just over 12 percent with growth in Asian American faculty accounting for more than half this increase; (3) Asian American faculty now outnumber African-American faculty; (4) the increase in the number of male faculty of color far out-paced the increases for women faculty of color; and (5) a lack of supportive academic environment was found to be an important factor in not retaining faculty of color. The brief also describes 10 key resources and publications for minority faculty. (Contains a 13-item bibliography.) (JB)

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Employment and Hiring Patterns for Faculty of Color

by Deborah J. Carter and Eileen M. O'Brien

One important role of U.S. colleges and universities is to bring citizens of color into the mainstream of American life. How well are we actually meeting this challenge? Some would say extremely poorly, considering the rise in campus hate crimes or low college completion rates of African-American, American Indian, and Latino students, or the decline in the number of doctorates awarded to African-Americans. Yet others would say that much progress has been made, considering the sheer number of students of color enrolled in college now compared with 20 years ago. Unquestionably, as our nation becomes more diverse, many college campuses are enrolling and employing more people of color. However, higher education has had far greater success in increasing its enrollment of students of color than in increasing the diversity of college and university faculty.

The growth in the employment of faculty of color has been uneven, and their overall representation remains relatively small. The number of African-American, Hispanic, and American Indian full-time faculty has grown at a snail's pace in the last 15 to 20 years. For example, despite a faster growth rate for faculty of color than their white counterparts between 1981 and 1991, the representation of these three groups among all full-time faculty grew only slightly, from 6 percent to 7 percent.

This brief examines the employment and hiring trends for full-time faculty over a ten-year period (1981-1991) by analyzing data from the biannual faculty surveys conducted by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).[1] The number of new full-time faculty hires is compared to the actual employment gains in tenure-track and non-tenure-track positions. Finally, this report discusses some major factors in recruiting and retaining minority faculty and suggests ways to increase the number and retention of faculty of color. This analysis has implications for the education of minorities and for the quality of the nation's education in general.

HIGHLIGHTS AND IMPLICATIONS

- Between 1981 and 1991, the number of full-time faculty of color grew from approximately 43,000 to 64,000, a 49 percent increase compared to the overall number of faculty, which rose from 467,000 to about 521,000 (an 11 percent increase).
- Minority representation among all full-time faculty grew from 9 percent to just over 12 percent during this time. The growth in Asian American faculty accounted for more than half of this increase.
- In 1981, Asian Americans accounted for 3 percent, or 14,900, of all full-time faculty. By 1991, the number had almost doubled, growing to 26,500, or 5 percent. Asian American faculty now outnumber African-American faculty on college and university campuses. It should be noted, however, that foreign nationals constituted 40 percent of all full-time Asian faculty in 1989, and this figure rose to 42 percent in 1991. The vast majority of these faculty are in science and engineering.
- The increase in the number of male faculty of color (13,305) far outpaced the increases for women faculty of color (7,705).
- For full-time faculty, the ratio of the number of new hires and the actual net gain in faculty positions is

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nearly 7:1, meaning that approximately seven hires were made for every single net gain in full-time faculty employment (390,000 vs. 53,247) during the 1981-1991 period.

- The data reviewed show that the number of full-time faculty, particularly faculty of color, grew faster in non-tenure-track positions than in tenure-track posts. This large increase in non-tenure-track positions may adversely affect the overall retention of faculty because such positions are typically less stable, less rewarding monetarily, and less prestigious.
- Research strongly indicates that the lack of a supportive academic environment is an important factor in not retaining faculty of color. There is a need for colleges and universities to examine their efforts to increase the number of faculty of color and to develop mentoring programs that pair junior faculty with tenured faculty to facilitate their transition to the professorial life and ease their way through the tenure system.
- On most predominantly white campuses, faculty of color are few in number and in many instances assume or are asked to assume mentoring responsibilities for students of color, in addition to fulfilling other scholarship and tenure requirements. This additional service requirement may lead to higher levels of "burnout" and, subsequently, attrition from academe.
- Institutions should restructure their tenure requirements so that minority faculty are rewarded for services rendered to minority students and the community when they come up for evaluation for tenure and promotion.

Table 1

Full-time Faculty by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 1981 and 1991

	1981		1991		1981-91/Changes	
	Number	Percent Distribution	Number	Percent Distribution	Number	Percent Change
Total	**467,304**	**100.0**	**520,551**	**100.0**	**53,247**	**11.4**
Male	342,293	73.2	355,257	68.2	12,964	3.8
Female	125,011	26.8	165,294	31.8	40,283	32.2
White	424,071	90.7	456,316	87.7	32,245	7.6
Male	313,600	91.6	313,267	88.2	-333	-0.1
Female	110,471	88.4	143,049	86.5	32,578	29.5
Total Faculty of Color	**43,233**	**9.3**	**64,235**	**12.3**	**21,002**	**48.6**
Male	28,693	8.4	41,990	11.8	13,297	43.3
Female	14,540	11.6	22,245	13.5	7,705	53.0
African American	19,668	4.2	24,611	4.7	4,943	25.1
Male	10,532	3.1	13,107	3.7	2,575	24.4
Female	9,136	7.3	11,504	7.0	2,368	25.9
Hispanic	7,247	1.6	11,424	2.2	4,177	57.6
Male	5,052	1.5	7,347	2.1	2,295	45.4
Female	2,195	1.8	4,077	2.5	1,882	85.7
Asian American	14,887	3.2	26,545	5.1	11,658	78.3
Male	12,027	3.5	20,520	5.8	8,493	70.6
Female	2,860	2.3	6,025	3.6	3,165	110.7
American Indians	1,431	0.3	1,655	0.3	224	15.7
Male	1,082	0.3	1,016	0.3	-66	-6.1
Female	349	0.3	639	0.4	290	83.1

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Employment counts are based on the following number of higher education institution for each year: 3,032 in 1981 and 3,285 in 1991. Data are based on reported counts and are not imputed for non-reporting institutions. Figures shown here may not agree with tables showing tenure data because some respondents provided total faculty counts by race, but did not further categorize by tenure status.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

Faculty Growth, 1981 to 1991

During the 1980s, the number of faculty of color in full-time positions grew at a faster pace than for the overall faculty. From 1981 to 1991, the number of minority faculty increased from approximately 43,000 to 64,000 (a 49 percent increase), while the overall number of faculty rose from about 467,000 to 521,000 (an 11 percent increase). During this time, the proportion of faculty of color among all full-time faculty grew from 9 percent to 12 percent. (See Table 1, Figure 1.)

- EEOC data indicate that gains in the number of full-time faculty in the 1980s were not spread evenly across racial and ethnic groups or between genders.
- The number of white female faculty increased by almost 33,000 during the 1980s, accounting for 61 percent of the overall growth in full-time faculty. (See Figure 2.)
- The number of white male faculty actually dropped by approximately 300 during the 1980s. However, white men still outnumber white women by more than two to one among full-time faculty (313,000 vs. 143,000).
- From 1981 to 1991, 39 percent of the increase in full-time faculty resulted from gains by faculty of color. However, growth in the number of Asian American faculty accounted for more than half of this increase. The breakdown of employment growth across racial and ethnic minority groups follows:

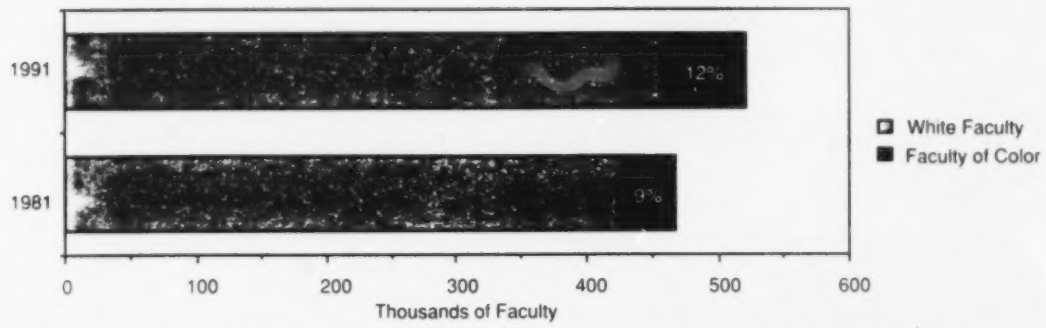
  — EEOC data indicate that approximately 40 percent of Asian faculty were non-U.S. citizens. This means that only 2.8 percent of all higher education faculty are Asian Americans with U.S. citizenship.

  — Asian Americans accounted for 3 percent (14,887) of all full-time faculty in 1981. By 1991, the number of Asian American faculty had almost doubled, (26,545) growing to 5 percent of all full-time faculty.

  — The gain of 4,943 African-American faculty ac-

Figure 1

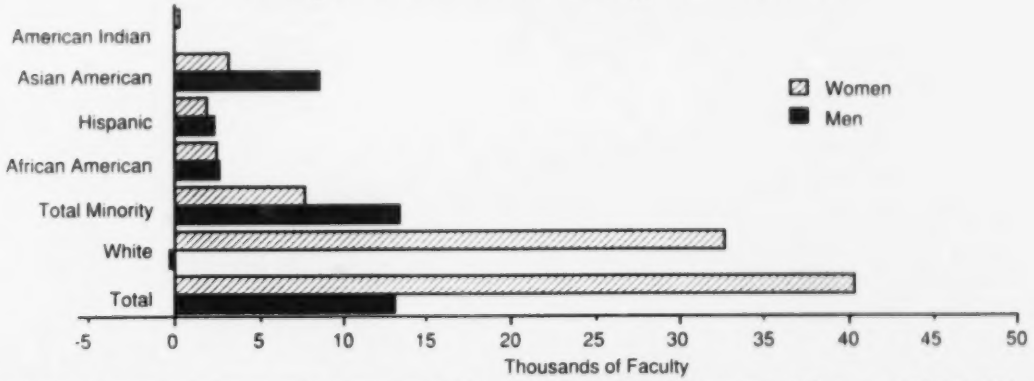
Full-Time Faculty, 1981 and 1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

Figure 2

Net Change in Full-Time Faculty, 1981 to 1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

counted for only 9 percent of faculty growth during the 1980s. In 1991, the number of African-American faculty reached 4.7 percent (24,611) of all full-time faculty. This represents a slight increase from the 19,668 African-American faculty members employed in 1981 (4.2 percent).

— An increase of 4,177 among Hispanic faculty contributed 8 percent to overall faculty gains. Hispanic faculty accounted for 2.2 percent (11,424) of full-time faculty, up from 1.6 percent (7,247) in 1981.

— The gain of 224 American Indian faculty added less than 1 percent to overall growth. American Indian faculty numbers reached 1,655 in 1991, up from 1,431 in 1981. However, their proportion of full-time faculty remained the same–0.3 percent.

While women accounted for three-quarters of the faculty growth, their representation among full-time faculty did not increase dramatically during the 1980s. For women of color, their faculty share increased minimally, from 3 percent to 4 percent. White women represented 24 percent of all full-time faculty in 1981 and 28 percent in 1991. (See Figure 3.)

- With the exception of American Indian faculty, between 1981 and 1991, minority men's increase of 13,297 faculty members far outpaced minority women's gain of 7,705. Yet this discrepancy varies by different ethnic groups:

  — Among African-Americans, female faculty recorded a gain of 2,368, compared with a gain of 2,575 by males;

  — Among Hispanic faculty, the number of women rose by 1,882, compared with an increase of 2,295 for men;

  — Among Asian Americans, there were 3,165 more female faculty, compared with 8,493 more males; and

  — Among American Indians, female faculty numbers rose by 290, while the number of male faculty dropped by 66.

- However, in 1991, women of color accounted for almost 14 percent of women full-time faculty, compared with 12 percent for men of color among male faculty.

Growth in Tenure-track vs. Non-tenure-track Positions

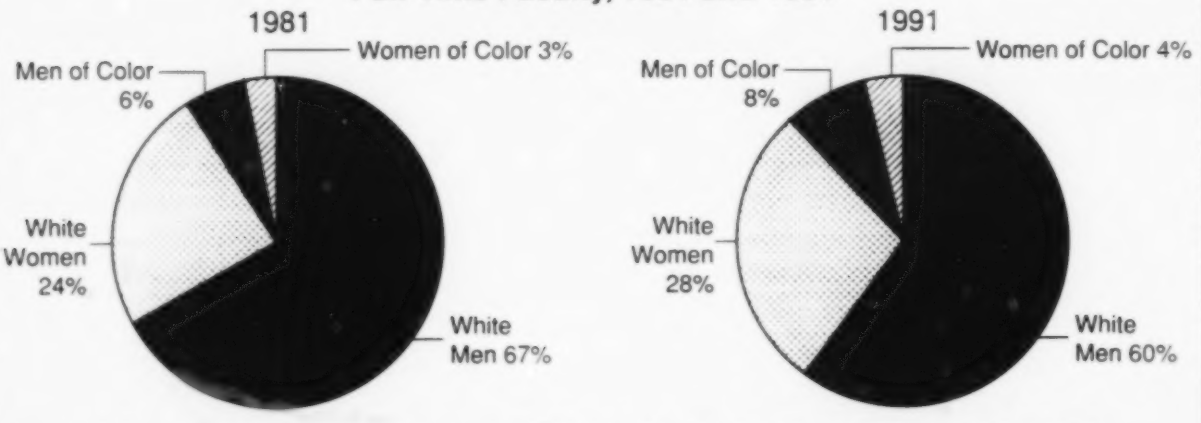
Estimates of faculty attrition rates (0.5 percent for tenured faculty and 5.0 percent for faculty without tenure) indicate that non-tenured faculty are ten times as likely to leave their position as those with tenure (Bowen and Sosa, 1989). For all faculty, and particularly for faculty of color, disproportionately large increases in non-tenure-track positions may adversely affect faculty retention because these positions are typically less stable, less rewarding monetarily, and less prestigious.

During the 1980s, colleges and universities increased their hiring of full-time faculty in non-tenure-track positions. EEOC data show that the number of non-tenure-track positions grew at a much faster pace than the number of tenure-track posts during this period. (See Table 2.) As a result, the proportion of full-time, non-tenure-track positions rose from 22 percent in 1981 to 27 percent in 1991. This trend was even more dramatic for faculty of color.

- From 1981 to 1991, tenure-track positions grew by only 7 percent (354,000 to 378,000), compared with an increase of 42 percent for non-tenure-track slots (100,000 to 142,000) (See Table 2.)

Figure 3

Full-Time Faculty, 1981 and 1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

Table 2

Growth in Tenure-Track vs. Non-Tenure-Track Faculty, 1981-91

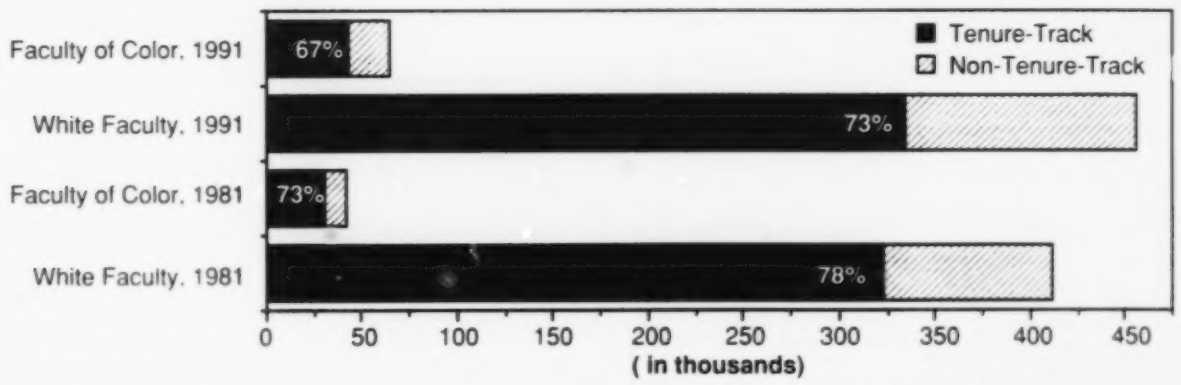
	Tenure-Track Faculty				Non-Tenure-Track Faculty			
	1981	1991	Difference 1981-1991	Percent Change	1981	1991	Difference 1981-1991	Percent Change
Total	**353,931**	**377,737**	**23,806**	**7**	**100,541**	**142,587**	**42,046**	**42**
Men	269,209	272,413	3,204	1	63,737	82,698	18,961	30
Women	84,722	105,324	20,602	24	36,804	59,889	23,058	63
White	323,256	334,792	11,536	4	89,220	121,430	32,210	36
Men	248,156	243,016	-5,140	-2	56,898	70,189	13,291	23
Women	75,100	91,776	16,676	22	32,322	51,241	18,919	59
Total Faculty of Color	**30,675**	**42,945**	**12,270**	**40**	**11,321**	**21,157**	**9,836**	**87**
Men	21,053	29,397	8,344	40	6,839	12,509	5,670	83
Women	9,622	13,548	3,926	41	4,482	8,648	4,166	93
African American	13,462	16,170	2,708	20	5,573	8,346	2,773	50
Men	7,516	8,994	1,478	20	2,835	4,062	1,227	43
Women	5,946	7,176	1,230	21	2,738	4,284	1,546	56
Hispanic	5,434	7,973	2,539	47	1,620	3,449	1,829	113
Men	3,849	5,331	1,482	39	1,033	2,022	989	96
Women	1,585	2,642	1,057	67	587	1,427	840	143
Asian American	10,947	17,762	6,815	62	3,614	8,748	5,134	142
Men	9,063	14,383	5,320	59	2,722	6,098	3,376	124
Women	1,884	3,379	1,495	79	892	2,650	1,758	197
American Indian	832	1,040	208	25	514	614	100	19
Men	625	689	64	10	249	327	78	31
Women	207	351	144	70	265	287	22	8

Note: Employment counts are based on the following number of higher education institutions for each year: 3,032 in 1981 and 3,285 in 1991. Data are based on reported counts and are not imputed for nonreporting institutions. Data shown here may be less than totals for all faculty because some institutions did not provide counts by tenure status.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

Figure 4

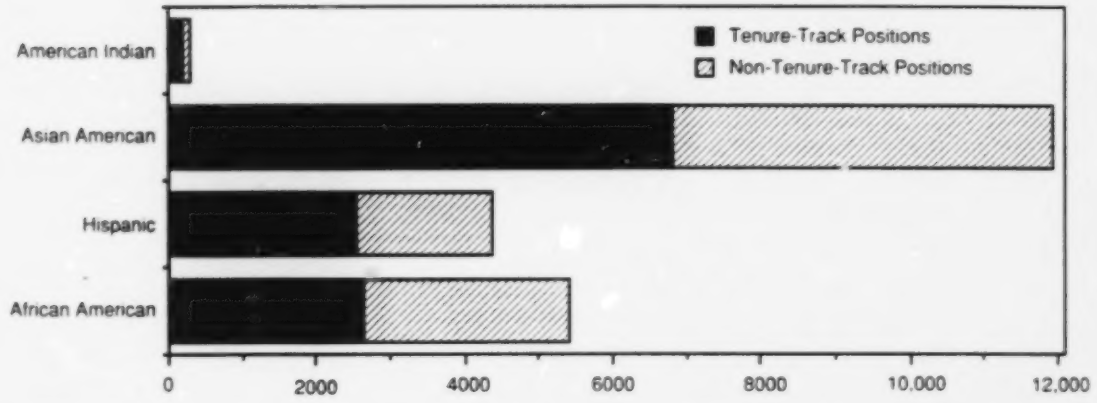
Tenure-Track vs. Non-Tenure-Track Full-Time Faculty, 1981 and 1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

Figure 5

Increase in Number of Full-Time Faculty of Color, 1981 to 1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

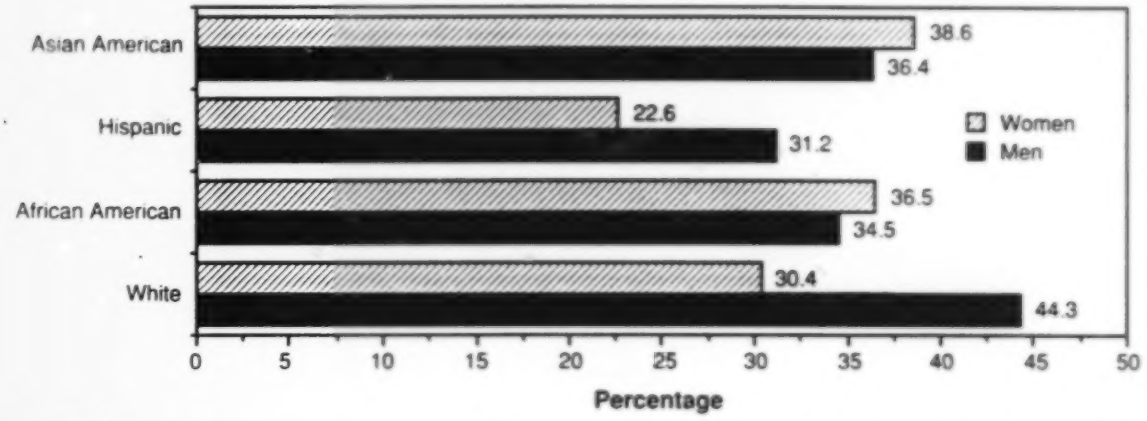
- In 1981, 27 percent of faculty of color were in non-tenure-track posts, compared with 22 percent of white faculty. (See Figure 4.) By 1991, 33 percent of faculty of color served in non-tenure-track slots, compared with 27 percent of white faculty.
- During the 1981-91 period, the number of minority faculty in non-tenure-track posts almost *doubled*, compared with a 40 percent increase in tenure-track positions.
- Examination of the gains made by faculty of color shows that non-tenure-track positions accounted for a substantial amount of the increases (See Figure 5.)
  - — For African-Americans, faculty in non-tenure-track slots accounted for 51 percent of the growth.
  - — For American Indians, 32 percent of the increase in full-time faculty was in non-tenure-track posts.
  - — For Hispanic faculty, 42 percent of the gains were in non-tenure-track positions.
  - — Asian Americans had 43 percent of their faculty increase in non-tenure-track positions.
- Growth patterns for tenured positions also differed considerably among minority racial and ethnic groups.
  - — From 1981 to 1991, Asian Americans experienced the largest increase in the number of tenure-track posts, from 10,947 to 17,762 (62 percent).
  - —The number of Hispanic tenure-track faculty rose from 5,434 to 7,973 (47 percent).
  - —The number of American Indian tenure-track faculty grew only 25 percent, from 832 to 1,040.
  - —African-American tenure-track faculty posts increased by 20 percent, from 13,462 to 16,170.
  - —The number of white tenure-track faculty rose by 4 percent, from 323,256 to 334,792.

Among women faculty, the increase in non-tenure-track positions was much greater than in tenure-track posts.

- The number of white women employed as tenure-track faculty rose from 75,100 to 91,776 (a 22 percent increase). Yet their numbers among non-tenure-track faculty jumped from 32,322 to 51,241 (a 59 percent increase).
- In contrast, white men experienced a 2 percent decline in tenure-track posts, from 248,156 to 243,016, and a 23 percent increase in non-tenure-track posts. This decrease may be due to a larger number of retirements among white male faculty than among other groups.
- Although Bowen and Sosa (1989) estimate that 1.8 percent of full-time faculty retire or die each year, this rate may be higher for white male faculty, who, on the average, are older. The data in Figure 6 show that in 1989, the percentage of male faculty over age 50 varied by race; for whites the figure was 44 percent; for African Americans, 35 percent; for Asians, 36 percent; and for Hispanics, 36 percent. Of full-time white female faculty, 30 percent were over age 50. For African American women the figure was 37 percent, for Asians, 39 percent and for Latinos, 23 percent.
- Between 1981 and 1991, women of color doubled their numbers among non-tenure-track faculty, with the exceptions of African-American and American Indian women. Yet it

Figure 6

Percentage of Men and Women Faculty Over Age 50, 1989



Source: Higher Education Research Institute, University of California, Los Angeles, "1989-91 HERI Faculty Survey," unpublished tabulations, November 1991.

is important to keep in mind that these numbers are still small.

It is very important to note that data from EEOC, which is one of the few sources for racial/ethnic employment trends, are not disaggregated by institutional type. Consequently, comparisons cannot be made between the number of tenure-track and non-tenure-track positions held by faculty of color within the two-year and four-year sectors. From other research we know that considerably more faculty in two-year colleges are in non-tenure-track positions: more than 25 percent of public two-year faculty are at colleges that do not offer tenure, although most have some type of tenure policy. Additionally, because of larger enrollment increases at two-year institutions as compared to four-year institutions, two-year faculties are expected to grow at a faster rate than four-year faculties, which may account to a large extent for the rapid growth in non-tenure-track faculty positions.

The increase in the number of non-tenure-track positions may well be a cause for concern, because research indicates that faculty who are not eligible for tenure have lower levels of job satisfaction. For example, Chronister et al. (1992) found that non-tenure-track faculty were more likely than tenure-track faculty to seriously consider leaving the profession within five years. Chronister also points out that because the possibilities of achieving tenure are integral components of a successful academic career, the high proportion of women and minority faculty who are in non-tenure-track positions may be permanently handicapped in trying to establish their careers.

Tenure-track and Non-tenure-track Hiring Patterns

According to data from EEOC, an estimated 390,000 full-time faculty were new hires between 1981 and 1991. Of this figure, however, only relatively few (53,247) continued as long-term employees in different faculty ranks at colleges and universities (See Table 3, Figure 7.) It is possible that some portion of these new hires may have been replacements for other faculty members who left their institutions due to retirement, death, job change, or retrenchment. Moore and Johnson (1989) estimated that 40-50 percent of new hires do not make it through the tenure process.

Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the large number of new hires and the actual increase in faculty size is very large and deserves closer attention. This difference may suggest that full-time faculty are moving from institution to institution at rates higher than estimated; are departing from academe in larger numbers than estimates indicate; or that large numbers of faculty do not hold permanent appointments.

The difference between the number of new hires and actual employment gains was greater among tenure-track faculty than among non-tenure-track faculty.

- The number of new hires of non-tenure-track, full-time faculty was four times as large as the actual gains recorded: 181,036 compared with 42,046.
- The difference between the number of new hires for tenure-track, full-time faculty was almost nine times larger than the actual gains recorded: 209,429 compared with 23,806.
- The smaller ratio (4:1) of new hires/actual gain for non-tenure-track positions as compared to a much

Table 3

Estimate* of Yearly New Hires of Full-Time Faculty, 1981-1991

Year	Total	White	Total Minority	African American	Hispanic	Asian American	American Indian
1981	35,727	31,498	4,229	1,773	621	1,561	274
1982	35,516	31,072	4,444	1,840	677	1,708	220
1983	35,304	30,645	4,659	1,906	732	1,855	166
1984	35,066	30,490	4,577	1,810	724	1,871	173
1985	34,828	30,334	4,494	1,714	715	1,886	179
1986	33,480	29,028	4,452	1,647	735	1,901	169
1987	32,131	27,722	4,409	1,580	755	1,916	158
1988	36,644	31,055	5,589	2,128	987	2,305	170
1989	41,157	34,388	6,769	2,675	1,218	2,694	182
1990	37,257	30,774	6,483	2,500	1,209	2,601	174
1991	33,356	27,159	6,197	2,324	1,200	2,507	166
Total, 81-91	390,466	334,165	56,302	21,897	9,573	22,805	2,031

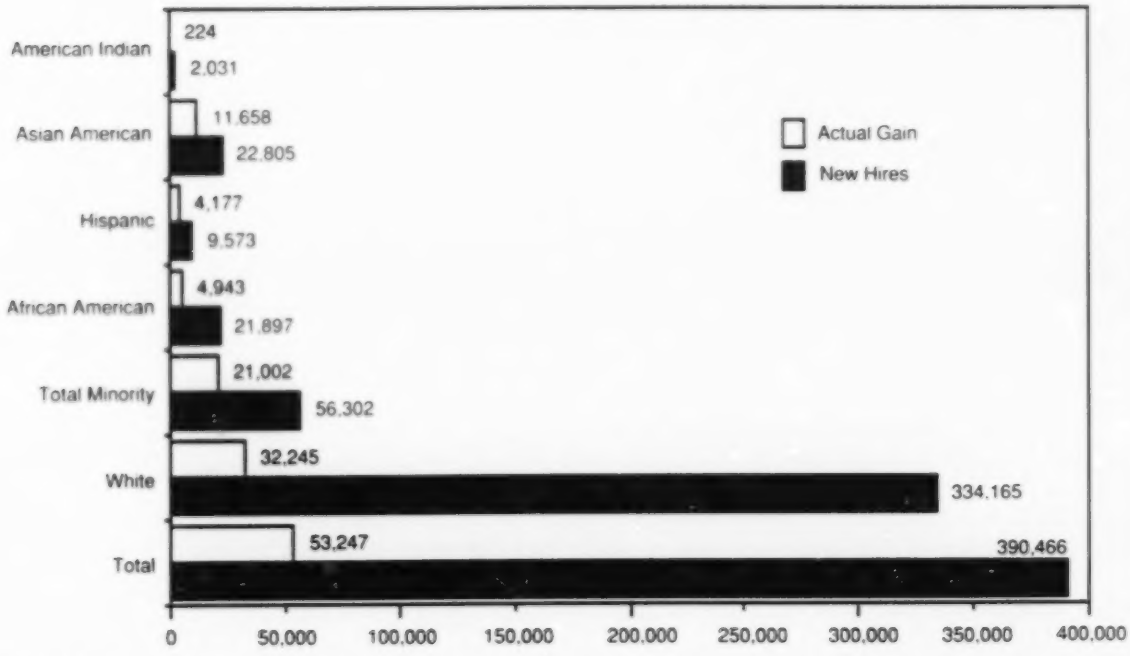
*Estimates for even years were calculated by averaging the odd years sandwiching each even year.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding. Employment counts are based on the following number of higher education institutions for each year: 3,032 in 1981; 3,011 in 1983; 2,868 in 1985; 2,636 in 1987; 3,452 in 1989; and 3,285 in 1991. Data are based on reported counts and are not imputed for nonreporting institutions.

Source: Calculations based on "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 through 1991, from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Figure 7

New Hires vs. Actual Gain in Full-Time Faculty, 1981-1991



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

larger ratio (9:1) for tenure-track positions can be explained, in part, by the rapid growth in non-tenure-track positions during the decade. Non-tenure-track positions increased by 42 percent, compared to an increase of only 7 percent for tenure-track positions.

Factors Affecting Minority Faculty Employment and Retention

THE SUPPLY QUESTION

Some higher education officials point to the scarce supply of minority doctorates as the reason the number of faculty of color has not increased dramatically over the last decade. However, Washington and Harvey (1989) argue that the lack of progress in hiring African-American and Hispanic faculty cannot be explained fully by arguments about the availability pool.[2] They assert that African-American and Hispanic doctorates have not received faculty positions in proportion to their representation in the Ph.D. pool, even when the number of minority doctorates was greater and faculty hiring was increasing.

- According to data from the National Research Council (1992), the pool of minority doctorates expanded only slightly, and the number of Ph.D.s awarded to African-Americans actually declined during the 1980s.
- In 1991, people of color earned 2,531 (10 percent) of the doctorates awarded to U.S. citizens, up from 2,027 (8 percent) of doctorates awarded in 1981.
  - — Yet the number of African-Americans earning doctorates declined by 8 percent during this period, from 1,013 to 933.
  - — The number of Ph.D.s earned annually by Hispanics increased by 53 percent during this decade, from 464 to 708.
  - — Doctorates awarded to Asian Americans rose by 64 percent, from 465 to 762.
  - — American Indians earned 51 percent more Ph.D.s in 1991 than in 1981, from 85 to 128.

Despite the fact that the number of new doctorate recipients committed to academic employment has dropped since the mid-1970s, African-American, American Indian, and Hispanic doctorates are still more likely to pursue academic careers than their white and Asian American counterparts.

- In 1991, more than three out of every five (64 percent) Hispanic Ph.D. recipients indicated making a commitment to academic employment. This proportion is about the same as in 1981 (65 percent).
- For African-American doctorates, 59 percent had definite commitments to academic positions in 1991, up slightly from 55 percent in 1981.
- More than half (53 percent) of American Indian doctorates planned to enter academic jobs in 1991, an increase from 44 percent in 1981.
- In 1991, half (51 percent) of whites receiving Ph.D.s had academic employment offers—the same percentage as in 1981.
- Only 38 percent of Asian American doctorates reported plans to enter academic positions in 1991, an increase from 32 percent in 1981.

FACULTY TURNOVER

The gaps between new hires and actual gains in full-time faculty suggest that large numbers of faculty are not staying at their institutions. Data from the 1989 faculty survey of the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) show that African-American faculty, Hispanic faculty, and female faculty in general were more likely than Asian-American faculty and white male faculty to report they had received firm job offers in the past two years. (See Figure 8.)

- About half of African-American and Hispanic faculty (56 percent and 50 percent, respectively) had received one or more firm job offers, compared with approximately one-third of Asian American and white faculty.
- Asian American men and white men were the least likely to report a firm job offer (31 percent and 30 percent, respectively), while 46 percent and 40 percent of their respective female counterparts received such offers.
- One study of faculty at six institutions in Virginia (Armour et al., 1990) found that faculty of color were twice as likely as white faculty to be making plans to leave their current institution (20 percent vs. 10 percent), and they were more likely to believe that they had good chances of moving to a different career.

Some studies have pointed to other plausible causes for what seems to be a lower retention rate for minority faculty. These include:

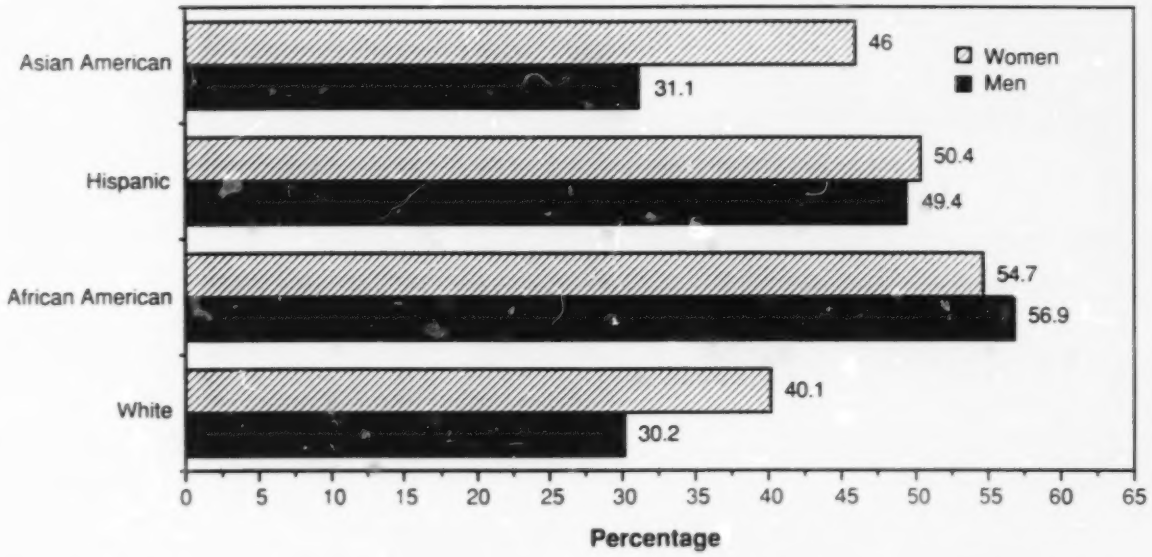
OVERALL CAMPUS CLIMATE

Some minority faculty report a lack of respect and support for minorities and women on their campuses and within individual departments (Swoboda, 1990). Often, this problem is difficult to get at, because "subtle" bias exists, e.g., perceptions that women and minorities are less qualified and are hired only to meet affirmative action goals and quotas.

- The HERI faculty survey found that more than half (55 percent) of minority faculty and close to half (45 percent) of female faculty noted

Figure 8

Faculty Who Received Firm Job Offers in Last Year, 1989



Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" Surveys, 1981 and 1991.

that "subtle discrimination" was a "source of stress" in their worklife (HERI, 1991).

LOWER LEVELS OF TENURE

Full-time faculty of color are much less likely to hold tenure, according to EEOC data for 1991.[3]

- More than seven in ten (71 percent) white faculty were tenured.
- Only 58 percent of African-American faculty held tenure.
- Among Hispanic faculty, 61 percent were tenured.
- Only 58 percent of Asian-American faculty held tenure.
- Three of every five (61 percent) American Indian faculty were tenured.

CONCENTRATION IN LOWER-LEVEL POSITIONS

Faculty of color are represented disproportionately in the lower ranks of tenured faculty and in adjunct, part-time, or full-time, temporary, non-tenure-track positions. They often do not receive the support needed for promotion to full-time permanent, tenure-track positions (Harvey and Washington, 1989).

- EEOC data show that in 1991, faculty of color, especially women, remain scarce at the upper end of the faculty ladder (i.e., in associate and full professor positions):
  - Of white faculty with rank, 29 percent are full professors; only 15 percent are instructors.
  - Similarly, 24 percent of Asian American faculty are full professors, and just 9 percent are instructors.
  - However, only 15 percent of African-American faculty are full professors, while 21 percent are instructors.
  - Sixteen percent of Hispanic faculty are full professors, compared with 21 percent who are instructors.
  - For American Indian faculty members, only 11 percent are full professors, and 28 percent are instructors.

HIRING FACULTY OF COLOR WHO ARE ABD CANDIDATES

Some scholars have asserted that minority faculty are more likely to be hired as "all-but-dissertation" (ABD) candidates. This can sometimes serve as an impediment to career advancement, especially if new faculty are not given the necessary support to finish their dissertations and begin teaching at the same time.

The HERI 1989 faculty survey found that faculty of color—especially African-Americans and Hispanics—were more likely to be currently working on a Ph.D. or Ed.D.

- About 14 percent of both Asian American and white faculty were working toward a Ph.D. or Ed.D., but 39 percent of African-American faculty and 32 percent of Hispanic faculty were Ed.D. or Ph.D. students.

- Women faculty were twice as likely as men faculty to be doctoral students.

  — Almost one out of four (24 percent) white female faculty were working toward Ph.D.s or Ed.D.s, yet only one of ten (11 percent) white male faculty were doctoral students.

  — Among Asian American faculty, few men (12 percent) were Ph.D. or Ed.D. students, contrasted with one-quarter (25 percent) of women.

  — Two out of every five (42 percent) African-American female faculty were doctoral students, compared with one of every three (36 percent) of their male counterparts.

  — One-third (34 percent) of Hispanic female faculty were working toward doctorates, compared with 30 percent of Hispanic male faculty.

AREAS OF SCHOLARSHIP

Some have suggested that one reason for these lower levels of tenure is that the scholarship of minority faculty who focus on race and gender-related research may be viewed as suspect and second-rate (Swoboda, 1990). This skepticism results from the fact that minority scholars challenge the application of traditional mainstream measures to the study of minority groups. Thus, when minority scholars apply non-traditional measures to study issues related to minorities, their scholarly activities (which are evaluated for the most part by traditional researchers) are treated with disdain. Institutions should increase the number of minority scholars, especially in research universities, by identifying and nurturing minority students with talent and potential for growth in academia.

PROMOTION TO ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS

Although the number of minority full-time administrators increased by almost 7,000 during the 1980s, many of these individuals were likely to have been faculty members prior to becoming administrators. Since minority faculty are more concentrated in non-tenure-track positions, the pool of faculty members from which administrative appointments are made is small. Institutions should develop new strategies that would facilitate the promotion of more minorities to administrative and managerial positions.

Case Studies

Beginning in the 1980s and continuing through the early 1990s, many institutions developed comprehensive plans to increase minority participation, with important provisions aimed at improving recruitment and retention of faculty of color. Two snapshots of such plans and preliminary evaluations of an institution and of a university system are provided below. Both cases have had some success in recruiting minority faculty, but retention of the faculty remains a problem.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SYSTEM

Since April 1988, the University of Wisconsin (UW) System has been working to meet the goals of its comprehensive plan, the "Design for Diversity," which is aimed at improving the recruitment and retention of minority students, faculty, and staff. The system has made some impressive gains with respect to its numbers of faculty of color. For instance, between fall 1989 and fall 1991, the number of minority faculty increased almost 16 percent, from 522 to 603. This means that faculty of color now represent almost 9 percent of all faculty, up slightly from 8 percent in 1989. In some ways, Wisconsin has had to work harder to recruit minority faculty, given the state's overwhelmingly white (92 percent) population.

In recent years, the UW System's hiring record has been very strong, with minorities accounting for 19 percent of all new faculty hires between November 1990 and October 1991. Why, then, is their representation among all faculty still quite low? Based on the system's own evaluation and its report analyzing and discussing the "revolving door" phenomenon, faculty of color (and white female faculty) are leaving the UW System at consistently higher rates than white male faculty. (See Resources section for more information on the report.)

Between fall 1986 and fall 1991, faculty of color left the UW System at an annual rate of almost 7 percent, compared with 5 percent for white male faculty. The actual numbers show more clearly this revolving door effect: in 1989-90, the system hired 85 faculty of color, but 38 (45 percent) left, and 47 (55 percent) stayed. In 1990-91, 65 minorities were hired, and 35 (54 percent) left, while only 30 (46 percent) stayed.

The possible explanations suggested by the UW System for the disparity in departure rates include: 1) faculty of color (and white female faculty) being granted tenure less often than white men; 2) faculty of color (and white female faculty) having to contend with discriminatory and non-supportive work environments; and 3) women and minority faculty seeking better employment opportunities with independent or out-of-state colleges and universities.

Recently, the board of regents requested that the institutions within the system conduct exit interviews to determine why faculty of color (and white women) leave. These interviews showed that male and female minority faculty reported leaving for different reasons. For example, 35 percent of the men of color cited higher salary as a reason, while 50 percent of women of color noted a "non-supportive work environment." Both men and women of color also reported that geographic location played an important role in their decision, with 39 percent (11 of 28) mentioning it. Significantly, nonrenewal was a reason for leaving for only 11 percent of untenured faculty of color.

In an updated report, women of color showed the highest departure rate in the UW System, leaving at the rate of 9.2 percent during 1991-92, compared with an exit rate of 5.3 percent for all women, 3.5 percent for men of color, and 5.1 percent for all men. In an effort to improve retention rates among women, and women of color in particular, the UW system's Office of Equal Opportunity Programs and Policy Studies is providing grants for system institutions to initiate and expand formal mentoring programs for junior faculty women. Effective mentoring is recognized as one way to combat isolation and overcome systemic barriers such as a non-supportive environment. The campus mentoring programs will train senior faculty women to help untenured faculty women master the university's informal culture and navigate the tenure process.

For more information on this report and these initiatives, contact Marian J. Swoboda, Office of Equal Opportunity Programs and Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin System Administration, 1802 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

In 1988, the University of Maryland at College Park (UMCP) approved a comprehensive five-year plan, "Enhancing the College Park Campus — An Action Plan." This blueprint set out specific objectives for improving African-American participation among students, faculty, and staff. The plan called on the university community to double the number of African-American faculty by 1994.

The goals in UMCP's enhancement plan assumed additional state funding, but the plan has yet to be funded. Unfortunately, almost immediately after the plan was released, the Maryland legislature was faced with a severe budget crisis, and UMCP has experienced budget cuts over the past several years. Despite the plan's lack of funding, in 1990, UMCP President William Kirwan created the Committee on Excellence through Diversity with several goals in mind, including assessing the effectiveness of present programs aimed at achieving the full participation of African-Americans in all aspects of campus life, and suggesting new strategies for achieving the enhancement plan's objectives. (This case study is based largely on a recently released report from this committee.) Another sign of the university's commitment to diversity appeared in UMCP's mission statement, approved by the Maryland Higher Education Commission in February 1990, which included a promise that "within the next decade, the university seeks to be recognized for its commitment to cultural and racial diversity."

Unlike the University of Wisconsin, the demographic characteristics of the surrounding region provide a solid base for UMCP in terms of attracting African-American students and faculty. African-Americans represent more than 20 percent of Maryland's population, and UMCP is located in a county whose population is more than half (52 percent) African-American. As the committee notes, UMCP is situated in a region that is "home to one of the largest, if not the largest, highly educated African-American population in the United States."

The committee's faculty survey confirmed that UMCP's location in the Washington, DC metropolitan area is an important asset for recruiting African-American faculty. However, struggling with budget cutbacks, the university's overall faculty numbers decreased slightly over the past few years, and unfortunately, African-American faculty were not spared.

- From 1990-91 to 1992-93, the overall number of African-American faculty decreased by 8 percent, from 108 to 98. By comparison, the overall number of faculty fell by 3 percent.

- During this same time, the number of tenure-track African-American faculty dropped from 55 to 51, a 7 percent loss. The overall number of tenure-track faculty fell by 5 percent, from 1,527 to 1,456. Decreases in the number of tenure-track faculty did not affect the proportion of African-American tenure-track professors. They continue to represent 4 percent of tenure-track professors, though the number of African-Americans among non-tenure-track faculty also fell, from 53 to 47, an 11 percent loss.

UMCP also experienced problems with "the revolving door" effect. For example, of the 14 African-American faculty who were hired for tenure-track positions between 1982 and 1985, only one remains at UMCP (a 93 percent net loss). Also, data on the last three assistant professor "classes" show that when faculty reach the promotion decision year, outcomes differ dramatically by race. In three entry classes — 1982, 1983 and 1984 — one of 11 (9 percent) African-Americans were promoted from assistant to tenured associate professor, compared with 51 percent of white faculty.

While the committee's report noted that the campus is not "remotely near" the goal set in the enhancement plan, it also acknowledged that this goal was "not realistic." The committee is optimistic that its report "will serve as a catalyst for an on-going, long-term process of self-examination and institutional change." To that end, it offered many recommendations, including:

- Institutionalizing the campus commitment to diversity by establishing a National Institute for the Study and Enhancement of Diversity. The institute would continue to assess on-going efforts to increase access and achievement of underrepresented

groups and focus on the development of theory, methods, and interventions, including workshops and other forms of technical assistance on intercultural communications.

- Creating an annually updated database that reports to the campus biannually on several factors, such as: faculty hiring and retention by race/ethnicity and gender, undergraduate student admissions, retention and graduation by race/ethnicity and gender, etc. This data collection effort would include a faculty survey every three years similar to the one conducted by the committee.
- Expanding and encouraging the use of the Minority Pool Line (MPL) program, a "carrot" of extra lines offered to departments that recruit African-American men and women (and white female) faculty. While recognizing that MPLs are used occasionally in a demeaning or stigmatizing manner, the committee noted that the incentives the MPL program creates for the recruitment of black faculty outweigh its negative potential.

For more information, contact the Committee on Excellence through Diversity, c/o Office of the President, University of Maryland at College Park, College Park, MD 20742.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Although the number of faculty of color increased from 43,000 in 1981 to 64,000 in 1991, this gain is not as large as could be expected. The gap which exists between new hires and the actual gain in permanent employment for all faculty seems to point to a "revolving door" pattern — full-time faculty are not staying at the same institution for long periods of time. More research is needed to determine the reasons for the huge discrepancy between hiring estimates and net increases. This is especially important for African-American faculty, since their representation among full-time faculty essentially did not increase during the 1980s (4.2 percent to 4.7 percent).

The "revolving door" pattern which affects white faculty as well as faculty of color also indicated that colleges and universities should review the reasons behind these departure rates. Are there consistent discrepancies by gender and by race/ethnicity? Also, given that African-American, American Indian, and Hispanic faculty have not achieved the same tenure and rank levels as their white and Asian American counterparts, colleges and universities should examine their recruitment, tenure, and promotion practices to identify the causes for the low tenure levels of other minority faculty.

Since campus climate appears to be an important factor in not retaining minority faculty, this is one area colleges and universities might examine in their efforts to increase the number of faculty of color. Mentoring programs that pair junior faculty with tenured faculty could facilitate their transition to the professorial life and help them navigate their way through the tenure system. The case studies also point to another important practice that will increase administrators' understanding of retention: exit interviews would tell us what aspects of campus life are encouraging or discouraging to faculty of color.

A major area of concern is the increasing number of non-tenure-track positions, as evidenced by EEOC data, and faculty of color's disproportionate representation among these positions. The use of such positions appears to have a negative impact on faculty retention, given the instability and lack of prestige associated with these posts. Research indicates that non-tenure-track posts also may adversely affect the academic careers of faculty placed in these positions because of the overriding importance of participation in the tenure system to the profession.

SOME KEY RESOURCES AND PUBLICATIONS ON FACULTY OF COLOR

1) *Higher Education Staff Information Surveys (EEO-6)*, conducted biannually by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Since 1973, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has required all public and private institutions of higher education with at least 15 full-time employees to file the Higher Education Staff Information (EEO-6) report biannually. The survey provides a census of all new hires, as well as information by gender, race/ethnicity, and status (part-time or full-time) for the following employment categories: executive, administrative, and managerial; faculty (by rank and tenure status); professional non-faculty; clerical and secretarial; technical and paraprofessional; skilled craft; and service/maintenance. In addition to employment, the EEO-6 report provides annual salary data by job category.

The EEOC data include five race/ethnic groups defined as follows: white (non-Hispanic origin), black (non-Hispanic), Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian, or Alaskan Native. Non-U.S. citizens or foreign nationals are included in all racial and ethnic categories, with the exception of American Indians. Among full-time faculty, Asian or Pacific Islanders have the largest portion of foreign nationals. As stated earlier, in 1989, 40 percent of all full-time Asian faculty were foreign nationals, and in 1991, the share rose to 42 percent. Latino faculty have the second largest proportions of foreigners among full-time faculty, with 15 percent in 1989 and 17 percent in 1991. For blacks, 6 percent of full-time

faculty were non-U.S. citizens in 1989, compared to approximately the same percentage in 1991.

Data were not imputed for institutions that did not report employment figures. Because of non-reporting by institutions and states, the number of institutions included in the EEO-6 survey is different for each survey period. The different number of reporting institutions affects percentage change figures, which measure increases or decreases in employment counts over time. For these reasons, the reader should be extremely cautious about interpreting changes in the actual employment counts over time.

For more information, contact: Esther Littlejohn, EEOC Office of Research and Surveys, 1801 L Street, N.W., 9th Floor, Washington, DC 20507, (202) 663-4958.

2) The *1989 Survey of Faculty*, conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at the University of California at Los Angeles.

This is a national survey of full-time faculty at 392 colleges and universities across the country, conducted in the fall and winter of 1989-1990. The survey covers faculty who spend at least part of their time teaching undergraduates. It offers an excellent opportunity for analyzing employment patterns of minority faculty because of the sample size for each racial and ethnic group and the availability of disaggregated data. Much of the information for this report is taken from special analyses of the survey. The main drawback of this data source is that the number of American Indian faculty is too small to examine their responses separate from other racial and ethnic groups, and the full report did not break down questions by race/ethnicity.

The study's normative report, *The American College Teacher*, is based on responses from 35,478 faculty, statistically weighted to be representative of all full-time faculty in the United States.

For more information, see Alexander W. Astin, William S. Korn, and Eric L. Dey, *The American College Teacher: National Norms for the 1989-90 HERI Faculty Survey* (Los Angeles: UCLA, Higher Education Research Institute, 1991.)

3) The *1988 National Survey of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF)*, conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, DC.

This is a national survey of both full-time and part-time instructional faculty at 449 colleges and universities, providing data on the percentage of minority faculty employed by public two-year colleges. Basic findings for 7,408 respondents are available in a report titled *Faculty in Higher Education Institutions, 1988*. This survey is not a source for this research brief because NCES has restricted access to the survey data, and data on specific groups were not provided: ie, African-American, Hispanic, Asian American, and American Indian are collapsed into the "minority" category.

For more information, see *Faculty in Higher Education Institutions, 1988: Contractor Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1990).

4) *Affirmative Rhetoric, Negative Action: African-American and Hispanic Faculty at Predominantly White Institutions.*

This report analyzes affirmative action theory and practice and provides a history of the African-American and Hispanic faculty experience at predominantly white institutions. It examines the lack of progress in hiring African-American and Hispanic faculty, scrutinizing the argument that the availability pool has limited increases for these groups. In addition, it suggests improvements in the roles of chief administrators, faculty, and search teams.

For more information, see Valora Washington and William Harvey, *Affirmative Rhetoric, Negative Action: African-American and Hispanic Faculty at Predominantly White Institutions*. 1989 ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Reports, Report No. 2. (Washington, DC: School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University, 1989.)

5) The University of Wisconsin System has published two comprehensive reports on minority faculty:

Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members: Problems and Possibilities, edited by Marian Swoboda.

This discussion paper describes the experience of female faculty and faculty of color based on interviews with 78 full-time faculty members from across the country. Using lengthy quotes from the interviews, this report paints a comprehensive picture of the obstacles many women and faculty of color continue to face on the nation's campuses. The paper focuses on improving the campus climate for women and minority faculty, providing suggestions for change at the departmental level and what the role of administrators should be.

Achieving Faculty Diversity: A Sourcebook of Ideas and Success Stories, edited by Marian J. Swoboda.

This sourcebook is a compilation of proven strategies for increasing the number of minority faculty members in universities. It also illustrates innovative efforts to expand the pool of future minority faculty candidates, focusing on the upper end of the pipeline where the choice to pursue doctoral studies is made. Seasoned faculty, recent minority faculty hires, and administrators speak on their commitments, the reasons for their choices, the shape of their programs, and the quantity and quality of their results.

For more information, contact: Marian J. Swoboda, Office of Equal Opportunity Programs and Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin System Administration, 1802 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, WI 53706.

6) OpenMind, The Association for Achievement of Cultural Diversity in Higher Education.

OpenMind is a national organization that brings together faculty, administrators, public officials, graduate and professional students, and individuals who are active in the pursuit of the association's goals. Founded in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1989, OpenMind grew out of a 1987 national conference organized by the State University of New York at Stony Brook. The organization exists to increase the presence and influence of culturally diverse scholars—researchers and educators—in colleges, professional schools, and universities. Its report, *Meeting the National Need for Minority Scholars and Scholarship*, underscores the crucial role of faculty in bringing about positive changes. The report also makes direct policy and action recommendations to federal and state governments, higher education administrators, professional and disciplinary associations, and accrediting bodies.

For further information, contact: C. Myrna Adams, Graduate School, State University of New York at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York, NY 11794-4433, (516) 632-7040.

7) Two major sources give information on faculty retirement projections although neither provides data on differences between male and female faculty or minority and non-minority faculty.

Reports from the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) — WICHE has published a triology of reference books on faculty retirement projections:

- Bringing into Focus the Factors Affecting Faculty Supply and Demand: A Primer for Higher Education and State Policymakers.
- Faculty Retirement Projections Beyond 1994: Effects of Policy on Individual Choice.
- The Literature on Factors Affecting Faculty Supply and Demand: An Annotated Bibliography.

Copies of the above reports are available for $10 each, or $25 for the set of three, from the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education Publications, P.O. Drawer P, Boulder, CO 80301-9752, (303) 541-0290.

Reports from the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association-College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF) — TIAA-CREF frequently surveys its policyholders with respect to retirement plans. Two of the latest such reports include: *Retirement Plans and Expectations of TIAA-CREF Policyholders (1989)* and *College University Employee Retirement and Insurance Benefits Cost Survey* (1990). For more information, contact TIAA-CREF, 730 Third Ave., New York, NY 10017, (212) 490-9000.

8) *Handbook for Faculty Searches with Special Reference to Affirmative Action*, by The Ohio State University (1987).

This handbook illustrates how one research institution conducts searches for women and minority faculty members. Addressed to search committee members, the report provides specific suggestions for each phase of the search, with advice on effective techniques for conducting a fair and active search.

Copies of the handbook are available free of charge from the Office of Human Relations or the Office of Academic Affairs, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH 43210.

9) The Center for Minority Graduate Opportunities and Faculty Development at Pennsylvania State University.

Established in 1987, this center is aimed at recruiting and retaining minority faculty and graduate students. Some of the center's activities targeted toward faculty of color include: offering workshops to help junior faculty understand the university's tenure and promotion process, the publishing process and proposal writing; providing funds for professional development (i.e., small grants to faculty of color who want to attend conferences); and working to develop formal and informal mentoring relationships. The center will start collecting data and tracking minority graduate students and faculty in the fall of 1993.

Contact the Center for Minority Graduate Opportunities and Faculty Development, Graduate School, Pennsylvania State University, 308 Kern Graduate Building, University Park, PA 16802, (814) 863-1663.

10) *The University of California in the 21st Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity*, by the University of California System (1987).

This report includes a review of the literature on the status of women and minorities on university faculties and the barriers they face; a description of successful programs and procedures discovered at comparable research universities and on University of California campuses; and approaches that serve to diversify the academy. The study was undertaken to help the University of California plan for the next century.

A limited number of copies of the plan are available for $4.50 each from Joyce B. Justus, Office of the President, University of California, 2199 Addison Street, 319 University Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720.

ENDNOTES

[1] A major concern in using data from the EEOC surveys is that data are not imputed for institutions that did not report employment figures. Because of non-reporting by institutions, the number of institutions included in the EEO-6 survey differs for each year. The different number of reporting institutions will affect percentage change figures, which measure increases or decreases in employment counts over time.

[2] Washington, Valora and William Harvey. 1989. *Affirmative Rhetoric, Negative Action: African-American and Hispanic Faculty at Predominantly White Institutions*. 1989 ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, Report No. 2. Washington, DC: School of Education and Human Development, The George Washington University, p.32.

[3] In this brief, tenure levels are calculated by dividing the number of faculty with tenure by the total number of faculty in tenure-track positions.

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